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Men's Club, Lecture Series 1975-1976, notes and speeches "America As Diaspora" and "The Jew in America-What Lies Ahead", 1975-1976.

Western Reserve Historical Society 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106 (216) 721-5722 wrhs.org America As Diaspora (TMC Adult Ed. Series) Daniel Jeremy Silver September 29, 1975

What we would like to do this year, as you must have gathered as you read through the brochure, was to approach American Jewish history in a different way than is normally done. For the most part American Jewish history taught either in what I call a Jewish contribution to civilization mode, a list of Nobel prize winners, attorney-generals and others who have made significant contributions or in the "aren"t we a great institution" mode by which I mean we talk about growing budgets and growing numbers who are served and never really ask whether the institution is needed in the first place; or else we approach it from the point of view of the nature of religious development in these United States, how the American Jewish experience is different from the European traditional rabbinic experience, and we tend to take a stand solidly within the virtues of our own particular outlook. What I'd like to do, what we propose to do in these lectures, is to ask a slightly different set of questions. The questions have to do with the security of American Jewish life. Can it survive? How will it survive and ask those questions from the point of view of what does the history of the immediate past, the long past, suggest. We like to approach this, also. from the point of view of the nature of the emerging or emergent Jewish spirit, Jewish culture in America. Is it simply a matter of assimilation and aculturation or has it been something which is constructive, new, necessary and significant. These questions go to questions of value, obviously: they go to questions of judgement and you'll have to make your own judgements. We as the lecturers are simply going to try and present our own opinions and the facts which buttress them and then we'll have a give and take after each session and the give and take will go on after conce an over a lot of other things. the let's begin at the beginning, with the old dogerel; you know, in 1492 Columbus sailed the ocean blue. I understand the Atlantic isn't blue

[dept 29,1975]

any more, but in those pre-pollution days apparently it was.

EVERY JEN NO New 1492 is a date that every schoolchild knows and it is etched also in the helives Jewish psyche for enother reason, it's etched in black or in reductor it was in 1492 W. Lea Coherry & ! that Ferdinand and Isabella, the same monarchs of Spain, commissioned the expedition PRESENTED THE ANCLOSET TO FATEFUL CLELLE : EXCLE OA to the America's, gave the Jewish community in Spain four months to leave the country Todecide + F They LEFT The GARTISM or to be haptized. They had from June through September, and they were ordered to The spanish patranial . ceuld TANKE Why about They leave with just what they could carry on their backs, and it was the most numerous, powerful and historically long-lived community in all of Jewry that was asked to leave. The numbers by our standards are not great, 200,000 folk, men, women and children for those days the numbers are significant, they represented some five percent of the Spanish population. Now these people were ordered out by their most Catholic majesties and they were ordered out for many reasons, the largest and most important of which was that they were not Christian. In the four preceding centuries the Catholic monarchs of Europe, and there were no others, had organized a crusade. We tend to thirk of crusade as the attempt of knights from Normandy and Sussex and Essex to move to the Middle East and recapture the Holy Grail and make Jerusalem Christian again, but in point of fact the longest-lived crusade, the bloodiest crusade, was the crusace mounted by the monarchs of Spain, Aragon, Castile, France, Germany, against the Muslim overlords in the Iberian peninsula. It began in the ninth century. It lasted to the 15th century. In 1491, the year before the expulsion, the last Muslim stronghold, Muslim Taifa in southern Spain near Malaga, was finally overrun and now Spain was completely Catholic. In order to complete the task the one non-catholic minority which inhabited the peninsula was ordered out. Now the Jews of Spain represented an old community. They came there perhaps in the second or third pre-Christian century. There were significant Jewish settlements

throughout the Roman times, throughout the times of the Visigoths, throughout the Dark Ages, and especially after the Arab conquest. The Jewish community there had grown in numbers and grown in economic status and in culture, the so-called Golden Age of Spain, and now this whole community was arbitrarily ordered out. Now there's a paradox here, that at the very moment a great Jewish community was destroyed much in the way that the Polish-Jewish community of Europe was destroyed three decades ago, at that very moment a new opportunity is beginning to open, but it doesn't open directly.

I'll give you a second paradox. There was a man in Madrid and in Toledo, the two capitals of Spain, by the name of Abraham Signor. Abraham Signor came from a very old and established Jewish family, clan, and he was the treasurer of Ferdinand and Isabella, and it was to Abraham Signor in 1491 that Ferdinand and Isabella had turned for the money with which to purchase the supplies which Columbus would need for his expedition. And Abraham Signor raised the money largely from his fellow Jews for this expedition. Jews have always been marginal in the European economic situation and have always had to risk their capitol where others may not have had to take similarly dramatic risks, so it was Jewish capitol which underwrote, to a very large degree, Columbus's expedition. And, interestingly, what did that expedition promise for the Jew? It exported the Spanish flag to these two continents, North and South America, and in the process it exported to this new world Spanish attitudes and Catholic

3

[JEPT 29,1975]

attitudes, including the fact that there was to be a big sign there on the borders of

the South America and the Carribean Islands and Latin America that said no Jews

allowed. So in point of fact expulsion of the Jews from Spain was also a denial of

[Sept 29, 1975]

Jews, the right of entry, into the new world and throughout the entire breadth of the 16th century Jews do not appear in the new world because the new world is largely settled insofar as it was settled by those who were determined to catholicize, to Christianize, the new world, to turn the Indians into good Catholics and to see that a Spanish or Portugese civilization was re-established here, which is to say we can be very grateful here in these United States that Columbus went south and not north, for had he settled these shores and had these shores, New England, the Middle Atlantic states been those which had been colonized by Spain Jews would not have been permitted here as long as the Spanish flag flew over this country, which would have been largely into the middle of the nineteenth century. For I give you the simple fact that Jews were not allowed into Spain until the second World War, though a few got in after the first World War, but until the second World War, from 1492 until 1939 or '40 when a few refugees from Germany were able to bribe their way in, there was no settled, noticeable Jewish community in Spain nor was there one until the middle of the 19th century in South or Latin America, wherever the Spanish flag went. Of Abraham Signor we know only that he was one of that small band of rich Jews who valued his wealth more than he valued his faith and he, in fact, in 1492 converted so that Ferdinand and Isabella could forever after say some of my best friends are Jews.

But, in any case, our history begins in a very auspicious way and if America

is different it didn't begin in a different mode from the earlier experience. The first

introduction of Jews to these shores, to the shores of what become the federated states,

the United States, occurs about 170 years later in 1648. Cnce the Jews were exiled

[Jept 29, 1975]

from Spain most of them, if they didn't perish on the way and at least half of them died before they reached any kind of final place of settlement, most of them went to Morocco, Tunisia, southern Italy, Leghorn became a great Jewish center, or they went to the Adriatic coast of Greece and of Turkey, Ismir and Salanica, places like this become large Jewish communities. And then in the middle of the 17th century the Low Countries finally shake off the Spanish rule and, particularly Holland, becomes a Protestant, Dutch Reform community, and Jews flock into this land which talks of certain kinds of toleration, at least of non-Protestants if they re not Catholic in this case, and much of the growth of Amsterdam to be one of the great commercial centers of the world is due to the influx of many of these sephardic Jews who had originated in Spain and now show up 100-150 years later in Amsterdam. Some of these Jews, for reasons nct quite clear to us, a very few, a handful, crossed to the few colonies which Holland established in South America along the coast of Brazil. There were a number of Dutch trading centers. Most of Brazil was Portugese, but a few places along the coast were Dutch including the town of Racife. In 1647 the Portugese, desiring to complete the conquest of Brazil, attacked one by one the outposts and when they attacked Racife the Jews knew that their days were numbered because they couldn't surrender. Portugal like Spain was udenrein, it was Catholic only, and so they took ship and went not back to old Holland but to new Holland. They went to

what was the community of New Amsterdam there at the base of the Hudson River,

what goes out into Long Island Sound and their reception there you know. They landed

some thirty strong and the men were immediately thrown into jail and the women

[Jept 29, 1975]

6

and children were put into protective custody and Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Amsterdam, announced immediately that he wanted to export these Jews, exile them to prevent them from settling in this new world because they are, and I quote from his letter to his headquarters to the home company, the West India Company in Amsterdam: "they are a repugnant people, enemies and blasphemers of the name They should not be allowed to further infect this new colony, let them be of Christ. taken out. " Now the letter was dispatched within days of the arrival of these thirty Jews, the first to land in these United States. The men were kept in jail during the months it took to get an answer from Amsterdam and when the answer came it's rather interesting. The answer, in effect, said you are right, the Jews are a repugnant people and the Jews are deicides and blasphemers, but it would not be prudent for us to have the Jews come back to Amsterdam because in fact some of our major stockholders are Jews here and they have made professions to us against this particular activity, which is to say that money talks even when it's Jewish money, that in the real world civic virtue is often the child of prudential profit considerations, and that in the last analysis security of Jews many places in the old world, at least in this instance in the new world, has depended upon the ability of other Jews to buy Jews out or buy Jews in, and that process has not ended. We have been buying Jews out of Roumania. In a sense we have been buying Jews out of the Soviet Union. This is the year 1975,

not 1648, but the UJA and the JDC and these other bodies which we have established

are still in this business of ransoming Jews. Now we're not quite sure why the

Jewish community of Amsterdam took the position it did. Obviously, it might have

taken it on principle, that this was a bad thing to do. It might have taken it on the

grounds that it was a good thing for them to have Jewish correspondents in the new

[Sept 29,1975]

world it might have taken it on the ground that didn't want to add to the poor relief rolls in Amsterdam. I suspect all of these reasons were part of what went into the action of the heads of the Spanish community there, but in any case what we have in the first instance, the Jews land in America and are immediately confronted with a classic example of the fate of Jews in Europe throughout the long centuries. They're here on tolerance, nobody particularly likes them. Everyone agrees that they are a repugnant people, that they are not part of the Christian world, they're not to be accepted as Christian gentlemen. Christian zeal, missionary zeal affects them. They're protected only by such powers co-religionists have and in the case of this new world they're protected by one other factor, a goegraphic one. This land was empty. There was an endless frontier. There were very few people. This was a very difficult place. Almost half of those who came to these shores in the 17th century went home, turned around and went right back to the old world. People were so desperately needed to clear the land, to perform the innumerable functions that any community required that even Jews were more or less welcome some places. Not in the bay colony, not in Catholic Georgia, but by and large they were welcome in middle communities. You draw a line from Newport, the great port city in Connecticut, down through Baltimore, down through Maryland and you have the range of the colonies where Jews, cne or two at a time, could come in and were allowed more or less to remain. The Jews recognized in those early days that America was not different,

and one of the most telling examples of proofs of this is the construction and the

architecture of the little salt box synagogue which some of you have seen in Newport.

(Sept 29, 1975)

8

It's the oldest standing synagogue in these United States. And the Newport synagogue, besides looking like a colonial building, it's a square box with the bema in the center, pews on all four sides, very much in the old world fashion, a balcony above for the women. But what's interesting about this construction which looks like many Unitarian churches except it doesn't have a spire on it is the fact that right in front of the raised pulpit in the middle, covered now by a rug, is a trap door and the trap door leads down into the basement into the earth, and across what was a street and then out into what was a cemetery two blocks away. In other words, the Jews were conditioned to a world in which they were often attacked when they were altogether, organized, on a holy day or festival or on the Sabbath in the synagogue. And in Europe almost all the synagogues had this kind of escape hatch, a way to get out when you were beseiged. And the first Jews who built their synagogue here in America felt the need to build that escape hatch. They didn't feel that America was different.

Now two hundred some odd years later things are very different. I don't know of a synagogue with an escape hatch, except for the rabbi. Jews have been a remarkably upwardly mobilecommunity. Of all the religious groupings only two that are slightly smaller than we, the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, can rank equal with us in educational attainment or in economic achievement and we did it in a much shorter time. For many Jews the distance between Ellis Island and suburbia is measured in two generations. Now that's a very very short period of

aculturation. America economically has obviously been very good to the Jews and

today unlike Peter Stuyvesant, governors are known to ask to come to our affairs

Neumar Republic accepts the Jew. Hitler does away with the Jew. The Soviet.

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(Sept 29, 1975)

so that they can bring us greetings and hopefully garner our votes and tell us nice things about ourselves, though some of us sometimes wonder what they say about us when our backs are turned.

Now the question that I place before you this evening is this one: America is different, but just how different? And different in what respects? And different from what? In Europe both the right and the left found good reasons not to accept the Jew. For the right to accept the Jew meant change and the right was opposed to all change. To accept the Jew was to accept a community of rugged individualists who were always asking questions, always bringing up the need for change, who were essentially democratic, a restless people, who were bitten by the culture bug, who were guilty of introducing all kinds of unwanted ideas, art forms and philosophy into the body politic of Europe. From Spinoza on, even though the Jews had excommunicated Spinoza, Jews were simply not to be trusted.

And for the left, well, the left would accept the Jew provided the Jew would leave Judaism and the Jewish community behind him. In the 18th century when the great debates were taking place as to the emancipation of the Jew, civil rights for the Jew, the liberals of the day said essentially to the Jew as Jew nothing, to the Jew as German everything, and that's essentially the position that the Socialists and the Marxists in the 18th and 19th century took. The Jewish community is an anamoly. It stands in the way of class consciousness, so the Jew must abandon these traditions

9

and these loyalties and become simply a proletarian. A non-descript worker will

accept anyone, but for the Jew to remain a Jew there is no place within the brave

new world. And so you get the paradox that there is no security for the Jew. The Weimar Republic accepts the Jew, Hitler does away with the Jew. The Soviet

(Sept 29, 1975

Constitution of 1919 declares anti-semitism to be a crime and every issue of Pravda in recent years has been filled with anti-Zionist diatribes which obviously become anti-semitic in innuendo if not in direct statement. That's from the left. From the right there are the old-fashioned anti-semitism which goes back to everything that we know from the Middle Ages.

Now here things have been different. We've had no Dreyfus Trial; we've had no Doctor's Trial; we've had no government sponsored pogroms; we've had no government sponsorship of anti-semitic printing presses. There have been known anti-semites and there have been men and women who have joined parties which made anti-semitism a matter of the bond which held them together ... their compact. These have largely been fringe groups, the Ku Klux Klan, the German American Bund or they have been people who attempted demagogic leadership of the lupen proletarian, the petty beourgcise and the masses, the Father Coughlins, the Gerald L. K. Smiths and in our day the Leroy Jones's. Now these men and these groups had been among us and we learned to accept their presence and we've learned to accept the fact that they tend to be marginal to the nature of American political life. And so there are today many Jews, perhaps not so many, but there are Jews who believe that America is different, that here all things are secure, that anti-semitism exists but cnly among the lunatic fringe and that it will never become a major component of our political system. And there are other Jews, and I suspect these are slightly larger in number, who accept the

proposition that anti-semitism is dormant or latent in most of their neighbors, that

it's a poison that's infected the world for several thousands of years and is not

quickly eradicated, but who believe that we are protected by two basic phenomena, two

The Jew In America - What Lies Ahead (Temple Men's Club Lecture Series) Daniel Jeremy Silver March 29, 1976

to hear about the future of Judaism when he might be hearing Arthur Rubenstein or Academy Awards or watching the final of the NCAA, a rabbi has to be optimistic on a night like this.

And the second thing is that the success of any classroom is contact, particularly when we are going to look at a crystal ball and I hope you will look in your ball with me and move forward so I don't have to worry about projection and all those things that rabbis normally do. Those of you in the back, it is not a sermon where I am going to point the finger at anybody; come forward and - thank you.

Now I am not going to look forward to the tricentennial, none of us are going to make it, that is one prediction I will make with absolute confidence tonight, even if we follow the old Jewish to 120, none of us will make it.

But I would like to look forward towards the year 2000 and I would like to do so the long way around, to spend a little bit of time with history and the tradition, to suggest to you the frame of reference in which I would like to make these remarks. And it is admittedly the long way around, but don't get too restless because I will get to the year 2000. And I want to start back with the eighth pre-Christian century with the prophet Amos. Amos, you will recall, was a small farmer who

apparently had a row of sycamore trees, the fruit was used for various purposes, and he must have also been a shepherd, managed some sheep, but the one thing he was not was a disciple of any of the sciences of prediction, prophecy of the day. He received a sense that God willed him to bring a message and he was sent from Takoa, his native home in Judea, north to the kingdom of Israel, the great shrine in Israel,

[mar 29, 1978]

Beth El, with a message from God which had to do with God's unhappiness, with the people's faithlessness under the covenant, and with God's statement that because they sinned and had been faithless the people must be punished. Now when he got to Beth El, which was a royal sanctuary, the chief priest of the shrine, a man by the name of Amaziah, told Amos in essence we don't want you here. This is a royal shrine, there's no place here for professional prophets or charlatans. And the phrase that Amaziah used is that there is essentially no place here for the professional necromancer, diviner, wizard. And Amos answered Amaziah with the words which are the rabbi's answer any time a congregation tries to pin him down about the future, I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but which meant in Amos's day that I am not a professional, professional prophet, nor am I a member of a professional band of prophets. Necromancers and wizards and those who consulted the demons or the dead, all these were known and well-known in the days of Amos and Amos was saying essentially was that he was not of that type. His basic purpose was not to predict the future. Indeed, the classic prophets of our Bible, Amos, Hosea, and Micah and Isaiah and Jeremiah were not scientists of prediction. Yes, they foretold the fature because God told them what the future would be, but they had no tarot cards, they had no crystal ball. They had no outline of the skull with all the bumps which presumably tell about a person's character and future listed upon them. And I want to suggest to you that this position professional prophecy which was

taken by Amos is essential if you want to understand the classic theology of our people,

but reserve that for a moment. .

Let us look at the so-called science of prediction. It is really the oldest

3

science known to man. It is older than medicine as far as we can tell; it is older than any other attempts by men to make their life more graceful and gracious. Anthropologists and archeologists found in the caves of prehistoric man the bones, the rather large bones, usually the pelvic bones of beasts, bison, cattle, which are cut and perforated in certain ways and we are not quite sure how but it is very clear that these perforations and these cuts and these drill holes were used for purposes of divination. to foretell the future. And among the relics of Sumer and Akhad, those first cities of human civilization, we have found charts which indicate the outline of an animal's liver, the liver of the animal that was sacrificed with every possible discoloration and malfunction listed on the chart and these charts were used by the priests at the sacrifices and they would examine the entrails of the animal and the vital organs of the animal that was sacrificed and somehow the color of the organ or the unusual formation of the organ would indicate to them something of the future. And from those charts in Sumer and Akhad to those charts of the heavens maintained by modern astrologists there is a direct line of science or pseudo-science as people have tried to understand the future.

Now the basis of the science of prediction is the basis of all science - an observation and the observation is a true one, that for every phenomenon that exists in the real world there is a cause, and somehow if we can understand the phenomenon we can understand the cause and everything that exists is itself the cause of some-

thing that will exist and by understanding that which is we ought to be able to understand that which will be. There is no plant without a seed, and presumably if we

4

understand the whole biology and botany that exists within a plant we ought to be able to understand how the plant will develop and mutate and fertilize and reproduce itself. And what is true of plant life is true of animal life, it is true of natural phenomenon. We ought to be able to look at what is and predict that which will be, and that is the basis of all these so-called sciences or pseudo-sciences which have to deal with prediction. Some of them are more realistic, some far less, but that is their basis.

Now no historian of Judaism could make the claim that Judaism hasn't had its mishagash, that our tradition hasn't been filled with all of the superstitions and all of the pseudo-sciences of prediction which have afflicted and beset the minds of men, for that simply would not be true. When the Bible lines out the sacrificial cult no specific divining rule is given to the priest, but we do know from history that the priests at the shrine in ancient Israel at the temple in Jerusalem must have looked at the entrail of animals, they must have done what the priests did in ancient times which is to observe how the smoke of a sacrifice rolls in a column towards heaven, if it rose directly the sacrifice was accepted, the prayer would be granted; if it did not rise, if it was blown away, God was unhappy with the prayer and would not grant it. It is very clear that the priest's role was one of diviner. He had, as you know, a great golden breast plate and on that breast plate there were three rows with four stones in each of the rows, the twelve stones representing the twelve tribes of Israel. Obviously, they had something to do with divination and we do know that

behind this breast plate there was a pouch and when the high priest was dressed up for the sacrifices he kept in this pouch two objects - one was black and one was white they may have been stone, they may have been dice, we are not sure what they were. They were called the oorin vitumium and when a question was asked of the priest he

5

would perform whatever cabalistic rites he performed and reach in and pull out a stone. If it was white you should go ahead with your plan; if it is black you should abort your plans. And it is very clear also that in post-Biblical times there were very few Jews and fewer scholars who did not practice the art of astrology. Those of you who have been to Israel know that at Bet Alfa, a synagogue whose mosaic floor was laid down in the 4th century of our era, the most basic motif of the mosaic is great the circle of the zodiac divided into the twelve well-known constellations, and if you have not seen this particular floor you know that when after a wedding or when you wish a young man well at his bar mitzvah or some other happy occasion you say Mazel Toy which does not mean good luck, but means may your life be led out under a good constellation. Mazel is the Hebrew word for constellation. And when we have in our community people who trip over their feet and fall on their noses and somehow have twelve jobs in ten years we call them a schlemiel or schlamazel which is the Hebrew word schelo mazal, who has no good constellation in his background. Astrology made sense to the rabbis and with the exception of Maimonides most of the great thinkers who are cited from pulpit and from platform such as this were adept at astrology. They look at the tides and they knew somehow that the tides were related to the phases of the moon. They knew that the universe was somehow all integrated with the will of God and it made sense that somehow all the power that is is somehow interrelated and that which happens in the heavens, whether it be a

sun storm or something of the kind, must have some effect here on earth. And we

Jews had a peculiar and special form of the science of prediction. I wrote here on

the board the word gamatvia. It comes from the Greek geometry. It is not

[mar 29,1976]

geometry. It is a form of logic, absolutely specious, but based on something which is essential if you want to understand our tradition and that is that in our tradition there is no separate system of numbers. We have no one, two, three, four, five these numbers are Roman, or the older form Greek. The Hebrews, the Israelites, the Judeans, used alphabet in order to have a numbering system. Aleph is one, bet is two, gimel is three, yod is ten and so on, and so if you accept the literal truth which was accepted by all of our fathers until very recent times that the Torah, the five books of Moses, are literally the words of God and if you are prepared to see them in their original Hebrew, and if you do not have a separate numbering system you look at every sentence of the scripture as not only a sentence with meaning, word meaning, but you look on it as a sum, as the sum of the letters which comprise the sentence and all sentences can be reduced to some sum, and obviously those sentences which have to do with the promise of redemption, of salvation, somehow predict, because they are the word of God, when the messiah will come. Now most of you have heard of Sha Teit Zvi. Sha Teit Zvi was the great pseudo-messiah who came in the 17th century. He was born in Ismir and he found his future when he was down in Jerusalem when he met Paul, a man by Nathan of Gaza, and in the year 1666 Paul, Nathan of Gaza, and Sha Teit Zvi announced that Sha Teit Zvi was the messiah and that the messianic age had dawned. And tens of thousands of Jews from all over Europe, from all over the Middle East, flocked to Turkey and flocked to Palestine

in order to participate in this great messianic drama. Now why were these Jews pre-

pared to accept Sha Teit Zvi as the false messiah? He was something of a charismatic

figure; he was something of a mantic; all that is true, but there were others of this

type before him. They were prepared to accept him as the messiah because there was a long tradition among those who were adept at what they call calculating the end. There was a long tradition that the year 1666 was the messianic year and there is a phrase, for instance, in the book of Isaiah in the 43rd chapter which says: Israel is redeemed by God or God is the redeemer of Israel, depending on how you want to translate it. Whichever way you translate the Hebrew it is obviously a promise of redemption and if you begin to add up the sum of the letters and you transform that sum from the Hebrew calendar to the English calendar you get the year 1666. I didn't bother with all the mathematics, rest assured it is accurate, because tens of thousands of our fathers staked their life and were frustrated when it proved to be inaccurate.

What I am saying then is that our people, like all people, was eager to know the future and we had all kinds of what we now call pseud-sciences in order to discover the future. Now why this tremendous urge to understand the future? Because obviously if we know what awaits us we can make provisions. If all of us knew that tomorrow there would be another oil embargo none of you would be running cut this week to buy another full-sized car as many of our fellow Americans seem to be doing. If we know the future we can make provisions against it. The future is dangerous. The future is unknown and men have tried since the dawn of history in every way that they could possibly devise to protect themselves against the unknown, to be prepared, to provide for that which awaits. Now I have detailed the highlights

7

[mar29,1976]

of the popular tradition which, like the tradition of all peoples, sought to interpret the future. But now I must add that within the heart of our tradition there lay a spirit which was at war with, angry with, all that this represents. My father once wrote a book, as some of you may know, called <u>Messianic Speculations In Israel</u>. It was his doctoral thesis at the Hebrew Union College. In that doctoral thesis he outlined

8

all of the various calculations made in the second century, the fifth century, the eighth century, the seventeenth century, about when the day of judgement was about to come, but as many men as made these calculations there were a still larger group of men who said: cursed be those who calculate the end. And they cursed those who calculated the end not only because they led people to disappointment, but because none of these calculations were sure and certain. The mystery of the messianic time should remain with God. And there was something more. The Jewish tradition at its very heart insists that the future cannot be known, that we cannot essentially do what we are trying to do tonight, to say what life will be like in the year 2000 because if the truth be told the future will be exactly what we make it. It is not fated, It is not predestined. It is not inevitable. The book of history has not yet been written. We will write it and there are many texts that we can write depending upon the lives that we lead, such wisdom as we possess.

And so you find in the Bible firstly, a description of the priestly office, really without emphasis on divination. You find in the Tcrah law an attack on the necromancers and on the diviners and on those who whispered over wounds and on those who consulted the crystal balls of their day, this was idolatry. You find the prophet Jeremiah saying to a people which had known of the king of and the Babylonian sorcerers and wizards and astrologers: be not dismayed at the signs of heaven for the practice of such people is vanity. You find the Jew who wrote the

syb oracle saying: Israel is to be commended because they really alone among the peoples of the earth have avoided astrology. You find the historian Josephus in the first century saying: do not get involved with astrology, it is wrong. And indeed, the reason that the Jews revolted against the Romans in 66, a revolt which.

9

was destined to be defeated, is because they trusted astrologers who told them this was a propiticus time to mount a revolt against Rome. They should not have listened to such liars. And you find the attack on those who calculated the end in the rabbinic tradition.

Now what is behind this attack? What is behind this attack is the basic assumption of the covenant. Is rael assumed that it was in a special relationship with God. God had revealed His will, the commandments, the way that we should go. And at Sinai Israel had said we will abide it and ever after a covenant had been established and what were the terms of the covenant? Here is the rule, the constitution for your lives: If you abide it all will be well with you; if you fail to abide it, if you are disobedient, you will be punished. Now the future is not in the hands of men as many in our modern world would have it according to the Biblical tradition. The future remains in the power in the hands of God, but God does not act arbitrarily. He does not act like the Greek fates. God will reward and punish us according as our lives merit reward and merit punishment. In essence he is saying that the future is not in the stars bit in our hands, but with ourselves. If we chey the will of God, God will bring security and prosperity and calm and peace to our world. And if we fail to obey the will of God then there will be violence and greed and war and all of the invalue things which afflict the sons of men. And the way that the rabbis often said it, to quote a line which is offered in the Talmud, that the constellations have no

power over Israel; the future is not in the stars but in ourselves, or rather, with God as God responds to what we do. As you sow so shall you reap. That's good Jewish tradition. This means in essence that no one constand behind any pulpit anywhere and say to you this must be the future. I fed the envisorphic facts and I fed the

10

economic facts and I fed the sociological facts into my computer and I have allowed the computer to spin and there has been this printout and the printout reads this way, that is what must be.

If there are enough meetings, for given all of the vanities and all of the interests of our world, people still come to be concerned with the Jewish fate we'll have a future.

I have a friend who is a sociologist at the University of Pennsylvania, And he has fed into his computer all the facts about Jewish demography, the fact that in America our birth rate is so low, below zero population; and he has fed into the computer the facts of intermarriage and what they call outmarriage, and he has fed into in the last years the computer the facts of affiliation, affiliation has tended to be down slightly except in the most orthodox community; and he has allowed the computer wheel to spin and the computer printout has been a very dismal one as far as the future of our community is concerned. Now what the computer has essentially done is this: that if one assumes the same level of indifference and of ignorance and of self-involvement that we have in our Jewish community today, then the worst possible case must be what will happen by the year 2000. But I submit to you that there is no reason to assume that that in fact need be the case. And I will site you what I think is a recent example,

There were no computers in the 1920's, but if Daniel Lazar had fed into

his computers in the 1920's the facts of Jewish demography and of Jewish assimilation, if he fed into them the number of intermarriages which was very high and the rate of affiliation which was very low, if he had added to that that there would be no more immigration after 1924 of any size from eastern Europe or from central Europe. and he had spun his wheel he would have found that the computer would have predicted

11

that within three generations, or four at the very most, the American Jewish community would have skriveled below what the sociologists call the critical mass which is that size, that sense of authority and vitality which allow the community to survive. The best example I can give you of critical mass is to note what has happened in a number of the small towns in Ohio or elsewhere. When there were 200 or 300 Jewish families there was a Jewish community. As the youngsters moved away the community aged and ultimately there was one child in the second grade and one child in the fourth grade and one child in the eighth grade, there was no sense of a school, there was no sense of a community, there were no Jewish children for these children to mix and to be with socially and ultimately the synagogue began to wither away, the rabbi left, there was little left, the critical mass had been lost.

Now in the 1920's the assumption was, and you can find this written large in the sociological literature of the day, such as it was, that essentially the Jewish community had four generations to live. There was the immigrant generation, but that was over now, there would be no more immigrants and the immigrant generation had given birth to a generation that was what makes Sammy run and Sammy was running as far and as fast as he could to American affluence, as far and as fast as he could away from the east side of New York or the south side of Boston, from his so-called Jewish heritage. And in the third generation Sammy's sons and daughters would have a bit of nostalgia, they loved their grandparents, but their relationship with the Jew-

ish community would be marginal. In New York the rate of affiliation, the great

center of Jewish life, the rate of affiliation with the congregation was never more than

15 percent and by the fourth generation there would not even be nostalgia inherent

to keep one within the Jewish community,

Now had we listened to the printout then we could not have imagined the

the Jewish community that we have today, an active Jewish community, a community voluntary which has its own federated communal organization structure, a set of congregational buildings and of activities second to none in the history of Jewish life, an intellectual and cultural renaissance which is as vital certainly as any that any Jewish community enjoyed since the Golden Age of Spain and probably since Biblical times. Now all is not well with the Jewish community, but we have a Jewish community and we have scholars and we have rabbis, we have congregations and we have activities and we have a remarkable record of survival concerns and UJA drives and all of it and nothing that could have been fed into computers in the 1920's would have in fact predicted this outcome.

Now what I have said is to a degree historical and it is to a degree sermonic and I am not given usually, as you know, to sermons, but I think it is important. It is important to say because there are too many people in our community who are caught up in the world of computers, in the world of sociological statistics and studies. Somehow if you put something on to a computer it becomes the truth. And there is an old computer term - garbage in and garbage out - that it all depends on what you feed, and more than this, even though the numbers that we would feed in the studies such as this would be gross, the whole question is what will we do with the opportunity that is still ours. It is very possible that by the year 2000 the Jewish community will have shriveled, the sense of vital ty which we now sense about us

will have been lost. It is very possible that we will not take advantage of the next

25 years, but it need not be. It all depends upon the six million Jews in the United

States and what they do with the next three decades.

Now let me talk a little about the future within that context, and I make

only one assumption, really, and that is the assumption that the messiah will not

come before the year 2000. Now that is an important assumption, surprisingly, because it says that essentially there will still be serious concerns which are survival concerns during the next 24 years, that there will still be Arabs and there will still be Russians, there will still be anti-semites and, therefore, there will still be an active, vital, human concern to energize the concern and the loyalty of the next Jewish generation. And I say that precisely because it is the existence of a series of vital and urgent survival concerns which made the predictions of the 1920's be false. It was Hitler and Stalin, Gerald L. K. Smith and Father Coughlin and Nasser and all of these people which essentially gave the American Jewish community another chance. They gave us a chance to get our feet on the ground, to build our institutions, develop new forms of leadership, to create our own form of ethnic and religious pluralism in the cultural pluralism of the American society.

New if we assume that the messiah will not come before the year 2000 and we assume that the world will have 24 more years of ominous headlines, of struggle, of unresolved conflict, then it seems to me that Jews will recognize enough Jews for the Jews to survive, that they have a responsibility, and responsibility tends to bring out the best in people. We are at our worst when we are irresponsible, when everything is done for us and we are at our best when we have to do things, to sacrifice, for others. Now what will this sense of responsibility mean? It will mean essentially that questions of theology, questions of community identification, of the denomination you happen to belong to, will be less important and the questions of the group pulling together for whatever limited power it has to control its own future bacome more important. Now that itself is a statement of some significance. One of the things that has happened in the last twenty or thirty years is that the traditional

13

[mar 29, 1976]

[mar 29,1976]

Jewish community has developed a new label, a new self-identity. It now calls itself Torah-true and within that community there are not only the lovely people like your parents and grandparents who were traditional and humane and sensitive and empathetic to what Americanized Judaism needed to become, but there's a hard core of fanatics, and that's the only term that we can use to describe them, hard core fanatics who believe that they have the truth and that their way is the only way and who if they had their way would insist that all of those who are "Torah true", whether they are observant or non-observant orthodox, but who accept the authority of rabbinic law in one way or another, they pull away from the rest of the community. We are sinners and those of us who are rabbis are deceivers, we deliberately deceive you as to what being a Jew consists of and what morality and ethics are all about. Now these fanatics have not had their way within the orthodox community because of the survival needs of Jewish life. Within the traditional community there are still large groups of people who recognize that in a world of 210 million Americans six million Jews better stay together. And in a world of four Arab wars the Jewish community in America and throughout the world better stick together. And because we need to pool our dollars and such minimal political power as we may have these people have been able to resist the worst of the pressures of the fanatics. If times were easier they would not be able to do it because the fanatic will always be able to shout down the moderate and it's very hard for those of us who try to help the religious community pull together. It's very hard for us to encourage and to be patient with some of these middle people in the orthodox community as they wrestle with the enemy to the right. And this enemy, make no mistake about it, is as fanatic, is as fundamentalistic, as opinionated and as wrong-headed as fanatics who have ever existed on the face of the earth. There are

fanatics but it doesn't make them any better. You may have read in the paper tonight about one of these men in Israel who has helped to precipitate the crisis on the West Bank. He believes in the settlement in Hebron and further settlements around Hebron and so this rabbi went into Hebron one day during one of the incidents and when there was some stones thrown by school children, he located somehow, he and his disciples, one of the Arab leaders of the town, the notable, and they forced this Arab notable to get down on his knees and pick up the stones these Arab children had thrown and then they beat him up. Now this man is called a rabbi which means he has a smattering of knowledge about the Talmudic tradition. He comes right out of the Middle Ages where Jews excommunicated other Jews and dealt with people in terms appropriate to the Middle Ages and not to the modern life, but the existence of a continued concern with Jewish survival will hopefully, and I believe realistically, allow the sense of the unity of Israel to be maintained within our communities. And because I believe that this sense of unity will be maintained despite it all, despite Telshe Ashiva, because I believe that I believe that those who are our extremists on the left, those reform Jews who have no patience with all that is so-called Jewish, who see in Judaism only a kind of progressive, prophetic ethical concern, whatever those words mean, who believe that reform Judaism is as one of these men put it, an infinite openness to the future. I believe that these extremists on the left, they're not all as numerous as those on the right, will in a sense be kept trapped as it were, by the immediate and existential

concerns of Jewish life and not be able to do too much damage. And so I believe that the fact of the messiah will not come until the year 2000 is paradoxically one of the things which is in our favor. And I think it's important to note that since the messiah will not be here the concerns of Jewish survival will remain paramount and they will remain visible. And we have not yet solved, obvicusly, the concerns of piety,

16

the concerns of prayer, the concerns of belief, but this will give us a little bit more time to deal with these problems. Now this concern with Jewish survival will show itself in another way, in part because of existential need, in part because of the existence of a Jewish community. I've listened while Federation people and others have told audiences time and again that the Federation community is essentially a continuation of the self-help agencies which existed in the ghettosand in the shtetl of eastern Europe, the agencies which have to do with providing ransom for captives, which have to do with providing dowries for poor girls who couldn't otherwise be married, which had to do with the care of the sick and providing food for the impoverished and there's a modicum of truth in that, but only a minimal truth. The real truth is that when Jews came to the United States they came to a society which believed deep down that the best government is the government that governs least, to whom the welfare state was anathema, but which was a humane society and being humane recognized poverty and recognized need, recognized illness and then somebody had to do something about it, so all these needs were taken care of under the name of charity and if you look at the American community, the urban communities of the 19th century, you'll see that the pattern was to have a Methodist hospital and sometimes even a Presbyterian hospital and then a Catholic hospital and to have a Catholic orphanage and a Protestant orphanage and to have an old folks' home under religious auspices, all the care agencies were under religious auspices, and when the Jews came in they couldn't do less. That's

essentially what happened because there was a Protestant hospital and a Catholic hospital there had to be a Jewish hospital. We had to pull our weight in the charity field. The reason I make the dichotomy between what was in Europe and what is now is because in Europe we had a welfare state, a miniature welfare state, that was the

17

Jewish ethos. Here we came to a charity oriented state and we created the institutions that were appropriate to the charity and then we found that we had eight or ten such institutions in a city like Cleveland and we couldn't have eight or ten fund drives and so the so-called Jewish Community Federation or structure in every town was simply an attempt to simplify fund raising in its origin, a very important attempt, but that was all that it really was. And it had no basic concern with Jewish identity or Jewish survival or Jewish religious values as such. It was the arm of Jews for charity purposes. Now as this developed something strange happened. As we began to develop this kind of institutional federated structure which existed, really, to support individual institutions, religious values, ethical values, were the business of the synagogue, not the business of the downtown Jewish structure. As we developed this structure we found America moving from charity state to a welfare state, beginning certainly in the 1930's, and suddenly we found that we had a super structure called Jewish Community Federation or combined Jewish charities, they had a number of names in different towns, which existed to support a number of institutions which called itself a Jewish Community Federation and its reason for being was taken out from underneath it because increasingly the government underwrote all of these social service agencies. Mt, Sinai Hosp tal is today Jewish in Board name only, that is to say, that the vast majority of the money which allows the institution to survive comes in from the Federal government, from anti-poverty programs, from health programs, through vol-

untary health care, health insurance programs that are not Jewish in essence, Blue

Cross isn't a Jewish activity, and so on. And this is true of all these agencies and

will be increasingly true of them as time goes on.

So now we have an American Jewish community which is out of the social

service business except that it has a traditional set of affiliations with a number of

18

institutions. And this happens at a time when the concern for Jewish survival around the world mount to fever pitch. Two things happened at the same time: the emergence of the welfare state, the emergence of Hitler, the emergence of Stalin, the second World War, the emergence of Israel, the Arab wars. And now we have a Jewish community which because Jews are sensitive people begins to change its focus and now this Jewish community is no longer a welfare community or social agency community. It becomes, really, a community of concern for Jewish survival and the agenda of Jewish survival is the agenda which allows this community to survive. The agencies are supported now realistically through a Jewish welfare fund whose basic appeal is the Jewish survival agenda, not the agenda of the support for the individual institution, and I'm not in any way denigrating the service which these institutions offer, I'm simply trying to paint a picture of what's happened in our community and in every Jewish community around the country.

Now the Jewish community today is a very awkward agency when it deals with the issues of Jewish survival. It's awkward because of Federal tax law which means that you have to go at the business of politics, of pressuring, in a very around the hand kind of way, as I well know from the work of our Israel Task Force, and it means also that it is in the business now of maintaining Jewish vitality and Jewish energy, education, an academic Jewish presence, the building next door and all kinds of institutions and it zeally doesn't know quite how to operate in this field because most of those who are the senior people still in our community were raised and trained in social work if a life era. And many of them were trained for Jewish social work because they were trained for social work and the Jewish agency was the place where they could find occupation and many of them had, and not necessarily in Cleveland, but many then the unit the country had a kind of very negative attitude originally

19

to the Jewish sirvival agenda, Jewish education and so on. And if you look at our Federation, which is one of the best and has been one of the first to recognize really what has happened, you can see the naivete, sometimes the foolishness with which it's approached some of these issues. And you also see, if you have eyes to see, we all dc, you know what's happening, how this Federation is now investing millions of dollars in Jewish education and inevitably it's going to find helpful ways in this field. So I don't worry toc much about failures, the things that were created like the Institute For Jewish Life, which was somehow overnight going to remodel American Jewish culture or the attempt to create a Jewish Studies program at Oberlin College which would be the only Jewish Studies program in the United States which didn't have a really Jewish or religious base which would be in the Middle Eastern Studies and which has now fallen flat on its face, those things don't worry me so much as the fact that there is a clear recognition within the community

tape turned over

another to plan for the education of the next generation. Their plans are often inane, but the fact of their planning is a statement of concern and ultimately there will be those who will be able to translate that concern into effective programming.

What I'm saying is all in a very positive vein. It starts with the negative. The messiah won't come, will not come before the year 2000, but it suggests that there

is every reason to believe that if Jews will it the year 2000 can be a very fruitful era for our American Jewish community because if we are willing to invest the energy and the time ourselves in our Jewish future there's really nothing that we can't achieve, because everything is in place. We have great congregations. We have a native born and trained rabbinic scholarly set of leaders. We have a set of publications which

20

are vitally concerned with the ongoing issues of Jewish life. We have school curricula programs which are attuned to your children and not warmed over, slightly revised forms of heder education. We have camping programs and games of all kinds which have proven their effectiveness. We have libraries. Imagine having in America a library such as we have at The Temple with over 20,000 volumes of English Judaica -20,000 volumes - all of them written really in the last fifty years. It's a vast literature created by a people who are supposedly totally illiterate and largely disinterested. We have today over 300 full time positions of Jewish Studies on the campus. We have integrated the study of Judaism into the larger study of western civilization, philosophy, history, religion, you name it. Judaism is academically creditable and the Jewish contribution to American history and civilization, to world history and civilization, is increasingly recognized. For those who want it, everything is in place, and Judaism need no longer hide its head in terms of not being able to make understandable its truths, its insights, its way to an American born generation. We can do it. We have the knowledge, we have the technique, we have the people who can do it. Everything is there if the people will only be willing to take advantage of it. Now will they? That's the real question.

that I suggested one of the reasons that lead some, at least, to be involved in Jewish life are the existential survival concerns of Jewish life. I would like to end by suggesting that another of the reasons which gives me hope is the fact that religion

is in and will remain in, I believe, for many, many decades. From about 1850 to the Great Depression Americans believed in progress and reason and science. Religions were archaic institutions. They dealt with things like faith, leaps into the unknown, spiritual values, all kinds of things that you couldn't button down and see in a test tube and test with a piece of litmus paper. We were con-

21

fident that man by his own reason could work out the future of the world. We worshipped men. We had no time nor interest in worshipping God. And then a strange thing happened. Tragedy entered. Now for Jews that tragedy was described by the pogroms, it was described by Dreyfus, it was described by Kishnev which was described by Hitler and the Stalin trials, by the death camps, you name it. Tragedy entered our lives. Tragedy entered the world. For most Americans I suspect it started with the Great Depression and culminated with the sense that was Vietnam, but man has lost self-confidence and man now no longer looks in the mirror when he goes to worship. He looks out to nature and he looks out to a power beyond himself and he recognizes the need of that power and he is turning to faith. Now the turning is an awkward thing. It's largely a matter still of looking for something beyond the institutionalized forms of the tradition. The children are rejecting what the parents and grandparents had because the grandparents and parents did not live it. They had in a sense rejected it themselves, but you see it - Zen, Hari Krishna, the Children of God and Jesus Christ Superstar, Chabad and even Tevye. You see it in the younger generation of people as some of them are showing great interest in what a: synagogue has to offer or what the Jewish community has to offer. You see it when 50,000 Jewish young men and women enroll for courses in Jewish Studies in a semester as they did a year ago which is the last semester for which we have figures. There is interest. There is a desire to know what the religious commitments are and the religious values may be.

Now if I were to gamble I would suggest to you that the synagogue will look if not in terms of its physical appearance, but in terms of what happens within very differently from the synagogue of 1976 even as this temple feels very different than it did 20 or 40 years ago. It will not be so interested in decorum. We'll be interested more in singing and in participation. There will be a greater involvement, I believe, in wor-

Cmar 29, 1976

ship, although that worship may not necessarily have formed or the seried pews that we have today. There will be a greater emphasis, I believe, on retreats, on silence, on quiet, on communion with God. There will be a renewed interest in the so-called spiritual values as opposed to simply the ethical exhortation of the tradition. There's danger in it. There's danger we may lose our hold on such reason as we can still claim, but I think that's the direction in which the world is going.

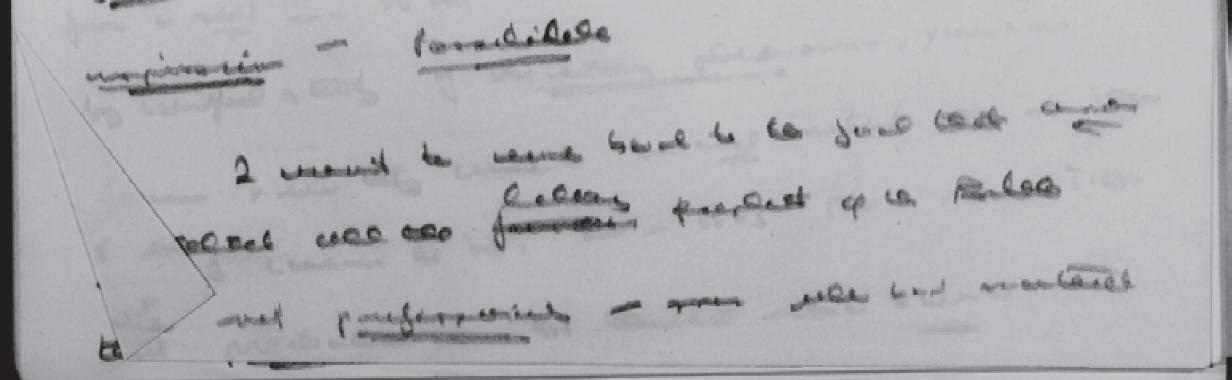
Religion is, as I said Sunday, ultimately the business of religion is the business of salvation and the unfortunate thing about liberal congregations is that we never found a way to make clear to the last generation in what salvation consists within the Jewish matrix. We talked about a messianic age, we said that, really, the messianic age will be created by man's own effort, therefore why God, why prayer, why this whole religious business? Well, the messianic theme is still the central theme that a religious tradition must strike and our rabbis and cur scholars must somehow reflect and refract for us those spiritual values and ultimately we have to search and find them ourselves, but that dcesn't mean we abandon social concern by any means. It does mean, I think, that our congregations will again be places where the worship itself will have a central part as opposed to today when everything else is really more important in our congregations than the celebration which is worship.

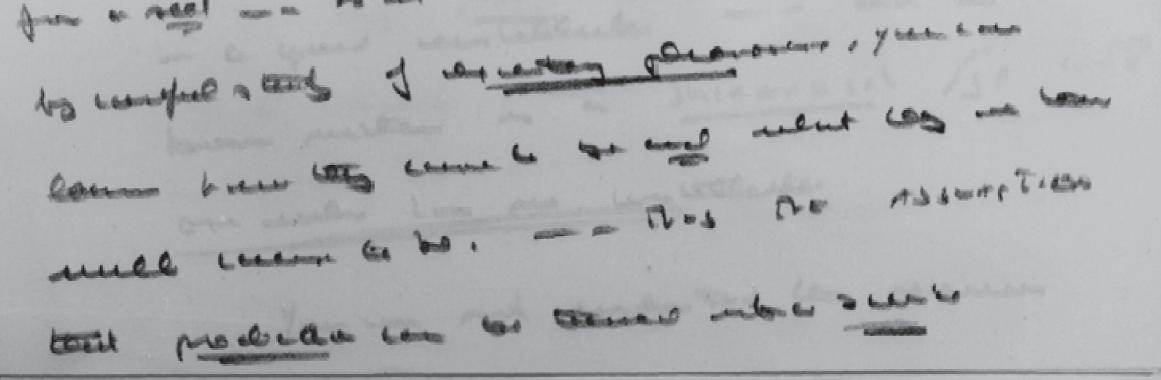
Well, I have speculated enough. I have given you my frame of reference,

in any case. I'd love to have you throw your crystal ball at my crystal ball and see

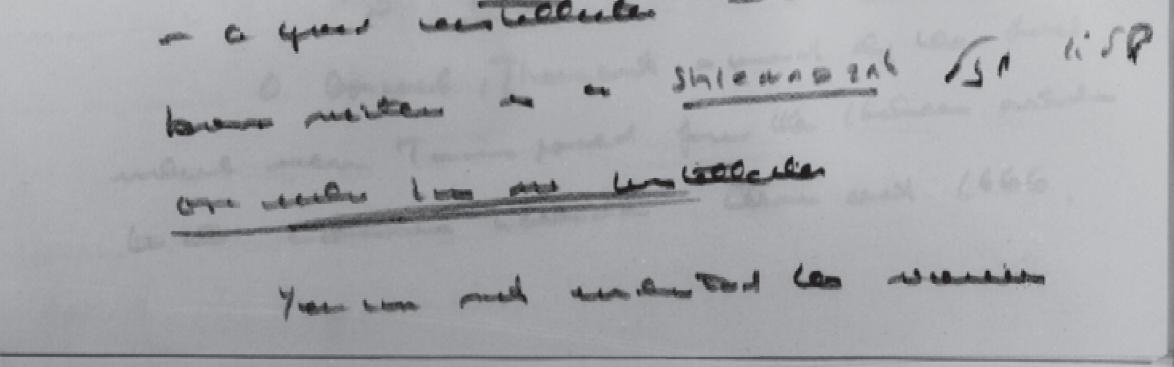
what happens and let's go from there.

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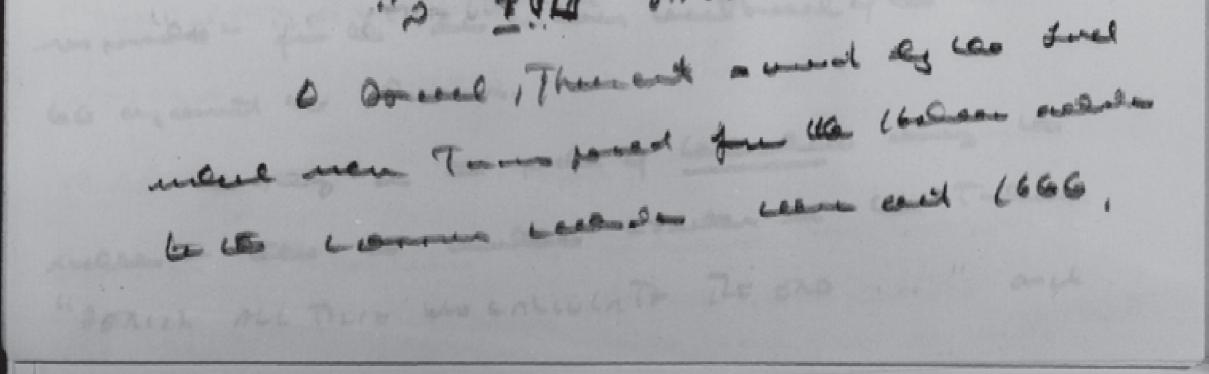


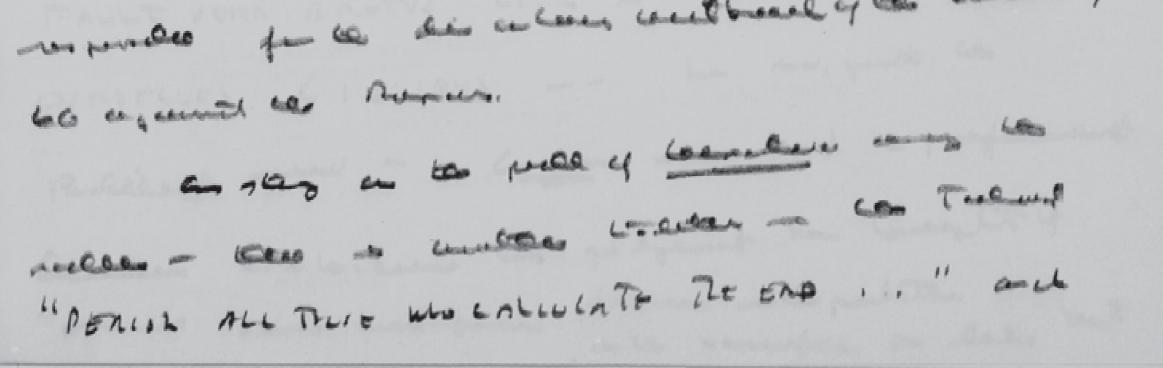


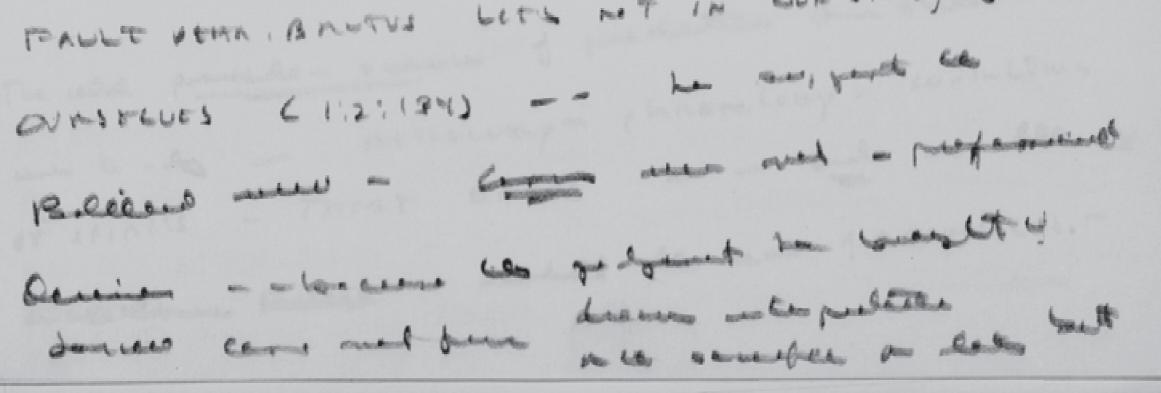
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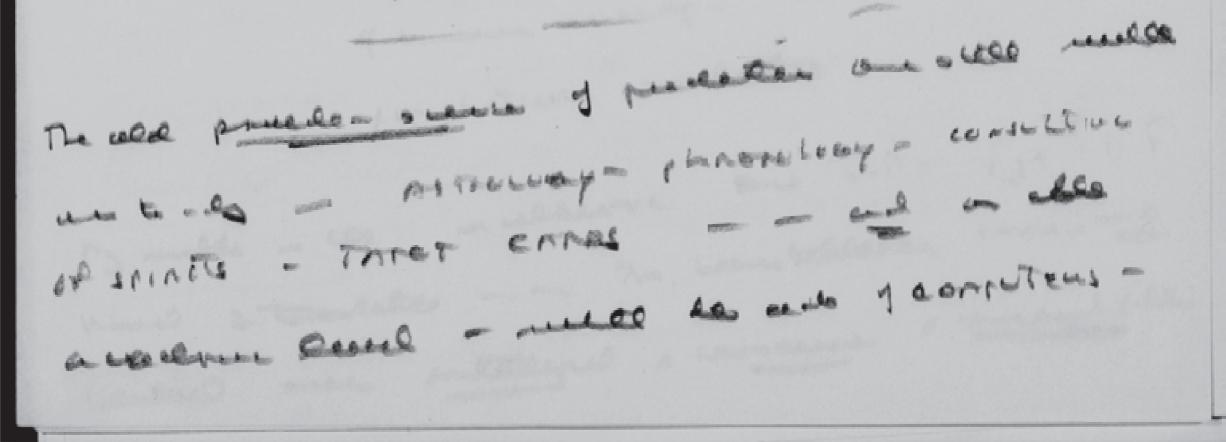
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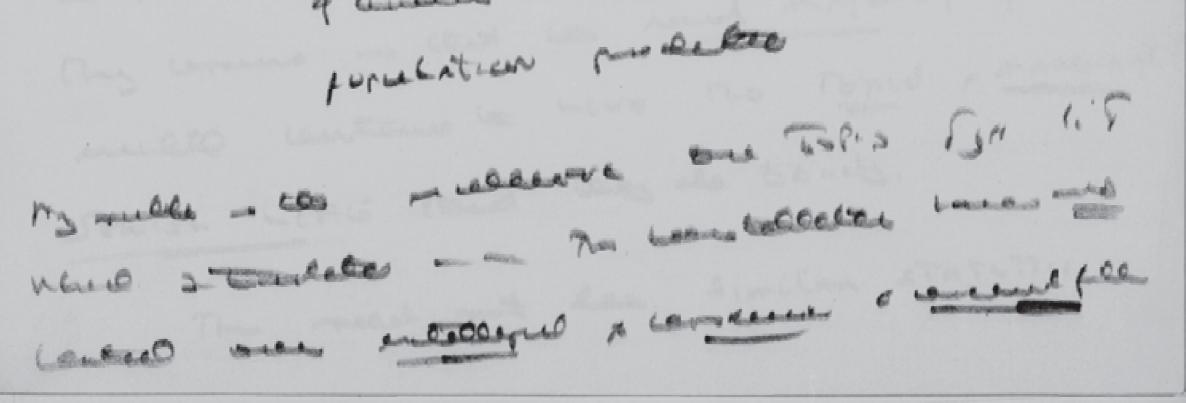


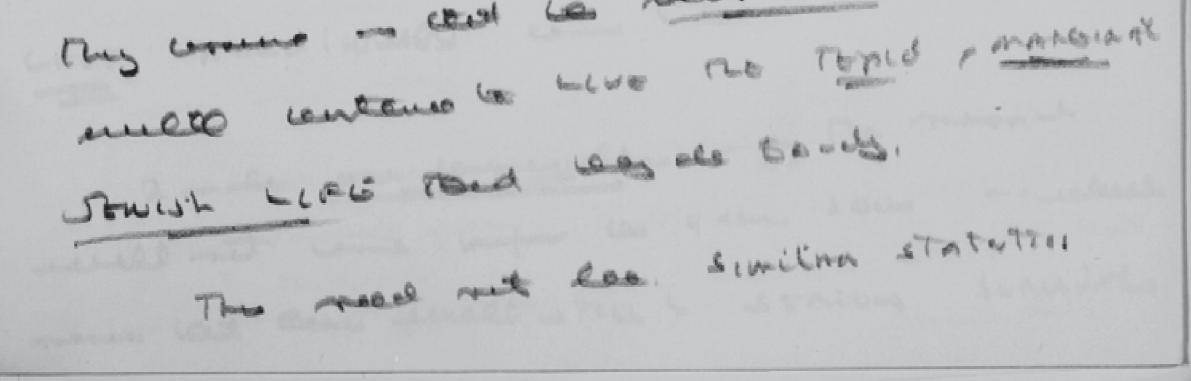


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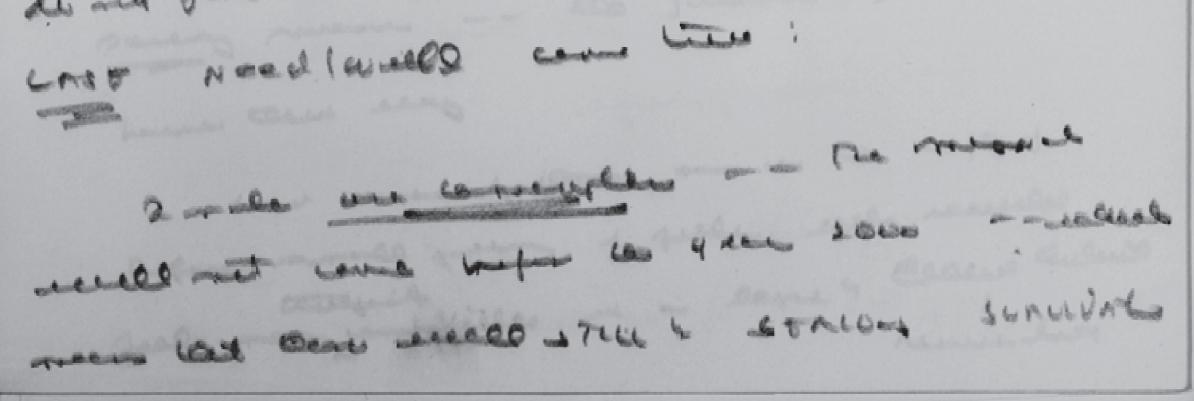


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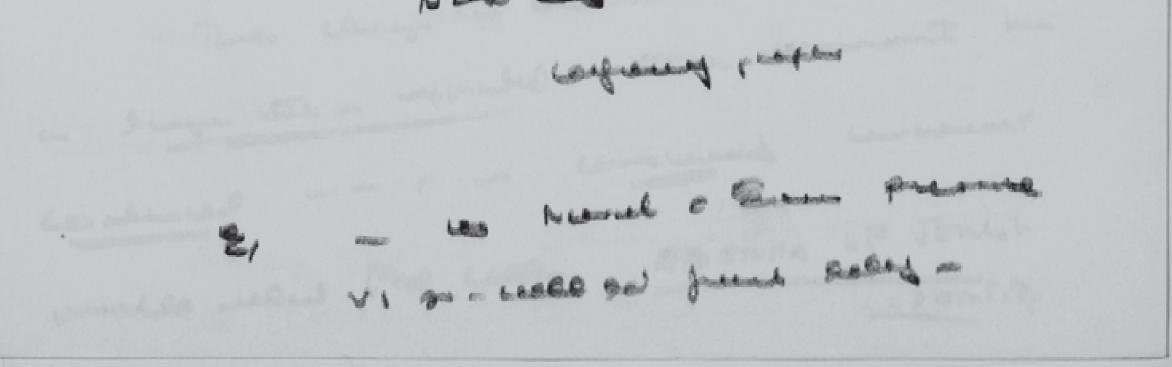
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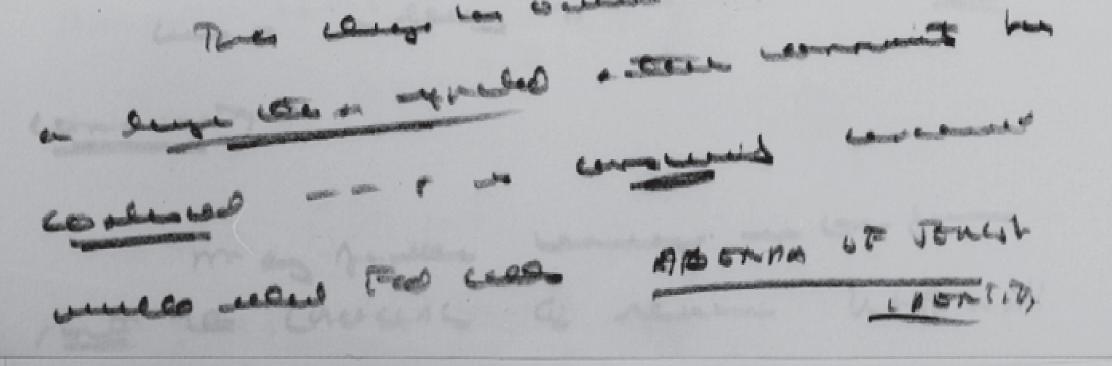
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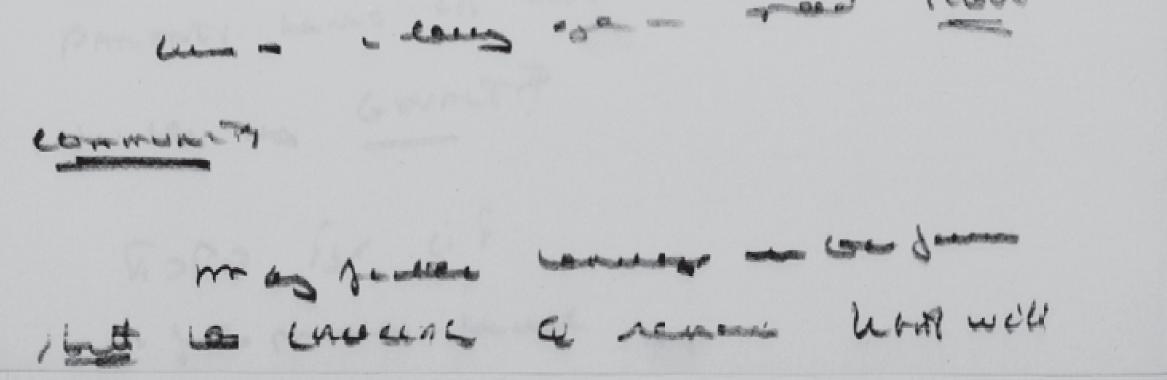
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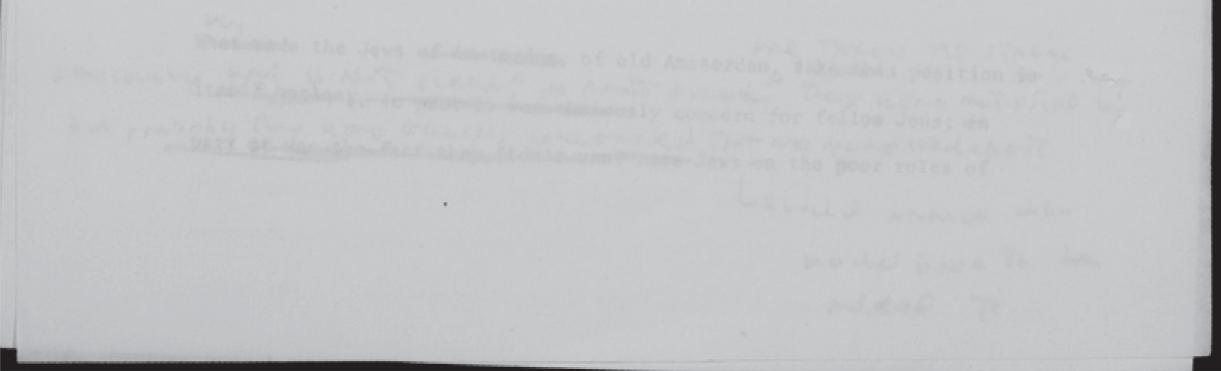
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The Reference becauled at production three at echelons of economic life. Then in the middle of the Trith century the Portuguese decided to reduce these little Dutch outposts one by one. In The 16465 Eden whether and the small Jewish community there defended Finally they attacked Bellom, and the small Jewish community there defended the walls along with the Dutch until they were overwhelmed.

IN CURACAO, ROTT LETS LETTE The Jews took to sea and landed for a while in Curacas. Newt they made orrentent their way up to what was then the closest Dutch port in the new world; what programs when may homped is will KNOW New Amsterdam. And the first thing that happened to those 2] or 23 Jews the the haster is that the men gat thrown into jail, and the women and children were GUUCHNON put into protective custody. Peter Stuvesant, the governor of New Am-" PREVILE LO Employed storday, sent a letter back to the Dutch West Indies Company complaining A lol TE NOW MALLALS, we have a hold new opperiment in this pert of the world; Me don;t want any of the deicides, any of the killers of Jesus Christ; this pariah I want the right to exile them from the colony. immed inteks people, have among us. There are obviously meetings in Amsterdam of the corporation hourd, and RETURNA a letter is sent back to Peter Stuyvesant saying in in effect, 'My Dear . Governor, we appreciate your sentiments and me agree with them as far as AT HAVE I DANG h the Jews are concerned! But there are Jewshere in Ametendam whe are stockholders, and it would be inadvisable for you to carry out your proposal. WERD So the Jews and released from protective custody under the promise that NO JOUR Wards Dec TE GOUGANDA ALL they will not become responsibilities of the community. There were also Exacted The promises made that no further Jewish immigration would be encouraged, for a while.

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What made the Jews of American, of old Amsterdam, takenthis position is. My What made the Jews of American, of old Amsterdam, takenthis position is. My obviously that to NAT clean? In part to part findly the date motorized by http://www.clean.com/entities/findle.com/entitle/ but probably they note takently concorned that No more indeced of part it was the fact they didn't want more Jews on the poor roles of Latend Amaria when hold have the second and how the hold they are the holded to

The Kehrlach, Parsibly to Logebal FT In part, probably somebody figured that would be a good Amsterdam. TEADE JOY WE INVESTOR thing to have a Jewish factor, Jewish eyes and ears on the site where some of their investments were mainteined. And that's the first settlement tates, It is again equivocal Eclart 1+1of dows in what became the United States, LAR BINNING SUBGER paper NUTT again problematic. MOTOOVOT-P EXILLS book (Vr) thing as Jewish power it is limited.

Jewish power is associated with money not with numbers, and it makes us wonder at the eagerness with which Jews the last two or three years in the United States were among those who most cagerly defended election campaign reforms particularly when those limiting what could be contributed to a campaign. It was very clearly one of the ways in which was "limited Jewish power" in United States has been exerted since the second World War. It was because wer Jews are active politically, certainly in numbers beyond our percentage of population. We are about 2.8% of the population but about 4% of the voting population. In addition, we have been willing to put our pocketbooks, to a large degree, where our mouths were in terms of candidates.

Let us continue on this obviously impressionistic view of history. In about two weeks from now, Gerald Ford will go to Newport, and the Jewish component of the Bi-Centennial will be observed. At the lovely little seventhenth century synagogue there, the oldest American synagogue still standing, Ford will give a major speech to the Synagogue Council of America

3

and other national groups. We will have important leaders arrayed in great lines, and he will tell us all that we want to hear. I am sure that somebody there will quote the famous letter of George Washington to this Newport synagogue written during the third year of his first administration. Washington left Philadelphia and made a procession called a "progress: in those days - through Newport which was one of the great towns and hurbors

He was invited by many groups in Newport to speak among the Jewish synagogue. He accepted their invitation and there made the speech which Sunday school and religious school children and even day school children read to learn the way it is in America.

The text says that America is a country where bigotry has no sanction, where people are citizens by right and not by tolerance. No group has the right to look down on any other group. It is a great speech. It says everything about American Jewish life and Americam life that American Jews would like to believe. The fact that our first president said it has enshrined it into national law. Therefore, wer are all secure. and it is all peaches and cream. The only problem, if you do a bit of historical research, is that George Washington never wrote the speech.

The speech is simply a recasting of the letter that Moses Seixas who was the gabbia, the president of the synagogue, wrote to Washington as a letter of invitation. Washington like Ford, and like every president in between, has his advisor for minority affairs who was empowered to tell the Jews, Poles, and others, exactly what they wanted to hear, provided it could be said. So Seixas having said all these wonderful things about the American constutution and what America represents, obviously wrote what the Jews wanted to hear. As a consequence the exact words appear in the letter of invitation, "to bigotry no sanction" and so on as it appears in Washington's final speech.

4

In the same way our governors and our senators and our congress people

come to our banquets and our civic affairs and tell us wonderful things.

Particularly in an election year, you'd velieve that every senator in United States was 100% with whatever Israel wanted. You know, they tell us exactly what they think they can say and what we want to hear. They're politicians, and they find ways of not saying more than they are prepared to say.

Very clearly America is a country in which we live by constitutional right, but is a country where the record of American Jews makes us know that discrimination, social economic and otherwise has been a fact of life and to some degree continues. We are still fighting the problem of Christmas and Easter in the schools. How long has it been in Cleveland since no Jew owned a home in Shaker Heights east of Warrensville Center Road or in Forest Hills in Cleveland Heights? How long was it, three years, since Union Club finally decided to have a jew in the dining room (or even allowed you to be a member)? So, our lives here have not been that kind of romantic idyl that many would like to believe.

I make these remarks as background to suggest that the sense of triuhalism in Jewish power, which some Jews feel, is a very dangerous kind of thing. No country has been as generous as the United States to the individual Jew who managed to get here. Our grandparents, our parents, came as immigrants; they slaved in the sweat shops of the cities and sent their sons to college and their sons slaved to get the license to go out and work in America. You've seen the statistics as well as I. We

5

now represent the highest educated religious component in America, and

in terms of income we represent the highest among the nations's re-

ligious components.

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You may also have seen in yesterday's New Work Times the statistics on senior executives in the 850 largest corporations in America. Except for the retail trade, Jews are almost non-existent. We still have a major agency which conducts an executive suite program, a program designed to open up the doors of power to the Jews. We may think of ourselves as very active politically, but in the Senate and the House, we are just about at our population level in terms of representation.

How should we judge this? Is the cup half full or half empty? I think it is an important question. We look at it in terms of our own private lives as more than half full. We are citizens and have full rights; we don't feel persucuted day in and day out; we are not afraid of speaking "our minds; we feel very confident that given whatever the economic level of the nation as a whole, our children will have a good education and a fine opportunity.

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> But let us look at another factor, the welcome factor. I'm not quite sure how it comes out.We tend to feel that anti-Semitism is relatively neglible in America; that is, it shows itself up in the fringe groups on the left a and on the right. Yes, there is certain amount of social anti-Semitism on almost any street in any segment of Cleveland, and there is still a reason that most Jews still live on the east side and very few on the west side.

Continue to examine this welcome factor. Everybody was welcome in America in the 19th and early 20th centuries , empty land desperately needed people. When the first immigration laws were written between]92] and]924 they were written to protect labor, which was part of their basic purpose. There was nothing anti-Semitic about that. Earlier the rubber barons would simply import a new draft of greenhowns whenever they wanted to break a strike. It was impossible for labor to organize and to achieve the dignity, the rights, the pay, and all that to break the company town, the company store. It was very understandable that labor should take the position that it did. Labor had to work then with the

6

Senate - with the power, with the elite in the United States, and when the Senate got through with its bill, it had written a bill guaranteeing the continuation of the white Anglo-Saxon, Protestant majority of the United States. Large quotas were given to the British Isles, Scandivavia; smaller quotas were given to France and central Europe. Much smaller quotas were given to the larger Catholic countries of Southern Europe and Catholic and Jewish countries of Eastern Europe, and almost no quotas to Black Africa, Yellow Asia. There was a yellow peril and we have enough blacks, we didm't need more.

Now, if you want to see the results of that, in the seven years between 1907 and 1914, 671,000 Jews came to the United States; in the seven years from 1924 to 1931, less than 70,000 Jews were able to enter legally into these United States. Everybody was choked back except those who represent the majority elite groups.

For the Jew this was problem and after 1931-32, it becomes a matter of life and death. From 1931 to 1945, in those fourteen years, only about 135,000 Jews were allowed in the United States. At no time during what was, after all, a liberal administration, heavily backed by the Jewish community, an administration which on a symbolic level proclaimed its eagerness to have Jewish minds in the United States after all Einstein was brought here by Rocsevelt. Roosevelt had a Morgenthal, Roosevelt had a Frankfurter, Roosevelt had a Roseven and so on. Never once did that

7

administration submit to congress a single bill to allow Jews to be brought in over quota. During that period of 1932-33 to 1945, something over 1.5 million visas for possible quota places in the United States, went unused. religious factor here. The Cuban airlift involved a large Roman Catholic community. The Vietnamese war refugee program again involved interest in the large Roman Catholic community. If you want even to take Jewish power, recognize in these facts how limited, how marginal, the so-called dream of Jewish power really is. The welcome factor measures the negative. The economic factor measures the positive. And where do we come out? What final assessment are we to make? Is America different? Or is America what Europe has always been? And I suspect the answers lie some place in between. But having suggested this term "Jewish power" to you I'd like to spend my remaining few minutes discussing it with you.

INT Tern Jewich youer hor alway itoned & me bears It seems to me it's one of those bits of conventional coin which almost. no relationship to the facts. Where was Jewish power during the days of Franklin Roosevelt? We had intimate contacts with the White House, but where was the evidence of successful contact? Where was the evidence of success tact during How were of our both suffert of partition had to de LETEL There des une wat of the days of Mr. Truman? Where, in fact, if we look again at the welcome factor, has successful contact been in the days of Mr. Nixon? If we look at the welcome 10 NULO ROCOTT TIMUS 40 Fird Those factor we recognize that, yes, the Congress was asked two years ago to allow some 50,000 Soviet Jews into the United States, but lookest the billion. When was this request made? Not at the beginning, not ten years ago when the American Jews first began to preserve and to clamor about the suppression of Jews in the Soviet Union, about anti-comition and al Union. about the need of these Jews

to get out. Then everything that the American government did was designed to get Encourage Art LISN TO LOAVE JEAN 66 72 Jews into Israel and the American government was very helpful in a humanitarian

way, establishing the transit centers in Vienna and elsewhere, and in helping with

Sawirment Fan Do Ainl the planes before El Al had sufficient planes to bring the Jews out. But then an unexpected and strange thing happened. Many of these Soviet Jews couldn't adjust or wouldn't adjust to Israel and they began to leave Israel which is, after all, a free country. You can go in and you can leave and they began to float around Europe. They went back to Vienna, Many of them showed up in West Berlin. There began to ANA LEGLERA MAA he sizeable numbers of them in Frankfort and many and in Paris, and soon the various governments of western Europe were beginning to complain to the United States, you created this problem, you financed it and you wash your hands of the problem you're the people on whom these luc word Tem out ting. We don't have NOT LETING unpapered people a re descending. to sav we don't want them. What are you going to do about it? And it's then, and only then, NIGLAN that the American government suggests to the Congress the appropriateness of bringing 50,000 of these people into the United States. what lies beyond for MISUMPICON OI Jewish pomer. sume Lewish power?

Jews have wanted Israel, and America was among the first countries to recognize Israel. Because Jews support Israel, and America has given money and arms to the determine offsrael. Because two want Jews out of the Soviet Union, and America has, at least in conversation and obviously at high levels, spoken with the Soviet government about the exodus of those Jews. But let's take another look. All those things have happened. All those things are important. None of them would have happened had not Jews

22

